113
231
233
235

Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1
Slovenes EF7

/For information on the types of shelter provided for domesticated animals (including cattle), see scattered references in 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116./

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

summits are clad in eternal snows, but at lower elevations stretch vast forests of pine and other trees, and rich pasturages on which the sheep and cattle of the Ghegs roam in summer. The land is cultivated to any considerable extent only in the south, where the climate is more suited to the production of crops, and the character of the people to the pursuit of agriculture.

Albania is divided into two *vilayets*, or provinces, called after the names of their chief towns, Scutari and Ioannina, the residences of the Ottoman Governors. The former, which is also called Northern Albania, is inhabited chiefly by the Ghegs and Miridites, and the latter by the Tosks, Khams, and Liaps, all of whom, however, are proud to call themselves by the national name of Skipetar.

Though nominally brought under the Turkish yoke and partially converted to Islam in the fifteenth century, after an heroic struggle of twenty-five years' duration under the famous Skanderbeg,[1] the Albanians long maintained a sort of semi-independence. As Moslems, they fought under their own leaders in the armies of the Sultans, who esteemed them among their bravest soldiers, and rewarded their services with numerous privileges and grants of property. The warlike Albanians were consequently never in spirit a conquered race, and the old feudal social system, which they were still able to maintain, aided by the nature of their country, made it occasionally possible for the chieftains to throw off, for a time at least, the authority of the Sublime Porte. The most

[1] "*Iskender Bey*, the Lord Alexander."

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

PEAKS OF SHALA

before the Serbs were coming back to their tribes 178
and telling about the American school in Scutari, 871
so that all the people wanted their children to
learn to read and write. The chiefs themselves, [212]
hearing that there was a Tirana government, and
not being able to write or read letters about it,
or to learn from newspapers (oh, simple-minded,
mediæval people!) the truth about European
politics, saw what education meant.

The people had taken rocks from the moun- 871
tains and made the schoolhouse. They had cut
precious trees and made the benches and the
desks. They had made a slate of a slab of the
native rock, set in a rough wooden frame; they
wrote upon it with softer rocks. From Italy,
across the Adriatic to Durazzo, up to Tirana, to
Scutari, and into the mountains—a two weeks'
journey by donkey and river ferry—the bishop
had got three copy books and a bottle of ink.
Pens had been made from twigs. The priest had
one book printed in Albanian.

Since the boys must herd the flocks in the [857]
mountains, they could not spend the day in 233
school. There is so little land that the goats and
sheep are fed from trees. The shepherd climbs
a tree, carefully cuts the tender branches, and
throws them down to the nibbling beasts that
eat the young buds and strip off the juicy bark.
There is no tree in all the mountains that the
shepherds have not climbed; not a tree that is
not a branchless, gnarled trunk.

So the school was open from six to nine in the 871

PEAKS OF SHALA

∞∞ cliffs or passed the ends of smaller mountain ranges that ran down to the opposite banks of the Lumi Shala. There were villages over there; we saw them built against the mountains like clumps of gray swallows' nest—the villages of [376] Shoshi, with whom Shala was in blood. At the foot of the waterfall streams that dashed down their cliffs we saw now and then a little mill, flooded with water, its roof of slate hardly showing above the flood, where in drier season Shoshi ground its grain or put the loosely woven white woolen cloth to be soaked in the running water and pounded by paddle wheels until it shrank into the feltlike fabric that makes their garments.

[233] 246 Here and there a red-brown or gray-white moving patch at the foot of a clump of mangled trees announced that a little shepherd was there, clinging to a tall stump and cutting twigs to throw down to the goats and sheep; we were too far away to see him. And there were other clumps of trees green with uncut leaves; always near these we saw, bronze brown among the gray rocks, structures taller than a man and shaped like a beehive. These were trees that the axes spare until the leaves are fully grown and filled with sap. Then the branches are cut and piled in a circle, the cut ends outward and the leaves to the center, layer upon layer, until the beehive shape is completed, when they are weighted down with rocks. The leaves dry, remaining green and nutritious, and slowly through the winter the curious silos are demolished armful

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1960 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Gheg

cure. The Mountain Ghegs also grow much fruit on trees near their houses. The chief species are quinces, pears, and apples.

Women have charge of milking the cows and making butter, curds, and cheese. Small boys are usually employed as shepherds, and lead their flocks high on the mountains. In the summertime many Gheg families drive their cattle up to the Alpine meadows on the mountain passes, and keep them there weeks at a time while they make butter and cheese. While on these heights they live in small temporary houses (fig. 8, *c*).[1] The people of Klementi, however, who live in high valleys, drive their flocks to the plain of Scutari every year for winter pasture.

Animal husbandry furnishes the Ghegs not only with much of their food, but also with a supply of energy, for they use oxen in ploughing, and horses for travel and the transport of goods. In the wintertime they keep their cows and horses indoors, while the pigs, in Catholic regions, have special sties. Late winter and early spring is the season when food is scarce. The corncrib may be empty, and only the seed corn hanging in bunches from the walls will remain untouched. The cows are dry, and the flitches of pork and bacon gone from the ceiling.

This is the time when the mountain people, their tempers more and more irritable, used to turn to raiding, and while some rustled each other's animals, others came down out of the mountains to steal cattle from the people on the plains. Mirdita raided Zadrima, and Mati raided the low country around Elbasan. This annual hunger was the result of a complete economic occupance of the land, coupled with an excess of births over deaths. Raiding brought in more food, but feuding caused more deaths. Between the two, plus a certain amount of emigration, the balance was reached.

Transportation in Ghegnia was, in 1929, as poor as anywhere in Europe. There were a certain number of roads over which people could walk, in some places ride animals, and in most, carry goods on animal back. In a few places the trails were too steep for animals, and men had to pack in goods by pannier. The principal road, which will be described later,[2] goes from Scutari and Lesh by way of Vau i Dejes to Puka, then on to Kukes, and across

1 [See cat. 116, p. 108. Analyst

2 [See cat. 116 p 42a. Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

crests; numerous valleys lie between them, each surprisingly narrow and steep-sided, some 3000 feet deep, all watered by a winter, if not by a perennial, stream, and many branching off right and left into side-valleys. In the district of Martanesh the ranges are rounded in outline, the summits are spreading instead of steep and sharp, large tracts of ground are comparatively unbroken, and in place of the countless valleys and streamlets of the north there are only a few deep ravines, each with a river on its floor.

These geographical characteristics have influenced the tribal cleft which still survives in the population. The main valleys in the north, such as Shalë, Shkrel or Orosh, are each capable of supporting a small unit such as a tribe, but seldom more. Appropriately, then, each is inhabited by a single tribe, which jealously prevents strangers from settling in its territory. The broad spaces farther south, such as the plateaux of Mat and Dibër, or the heights of Martanesh and adjacent Çermenikë, can carry a much larger population, in which no one tribe could hope to maintain its racial integrity or its political supremacy. Consequently, they are non-tribal and peopled partly by indigenous families, partly, at least in the case of Mat and Dibër, by immigrants, all of whom came in small numbers and many within recent memory. To quote only one example of each type, the Kadije family of Lis in eastern Mat is indigenous, and its neighbours at Burgajet, the Zogolli family, are immigrants.

More than the forms of social grouping have been affected by the physical features of the country. The number and height of the mountains have made stock-raising as important as agriculture to Albanians. Both parts of the range that rises sheer as a wall and green with forests from the coastal plain are over 3000 feet high, that of Krujë to the north being 3280–3940 feet and that of Dajt, which forms so beautiful a feature of the scenery round Tirana (Tiranë), 5290 feet—nearly 900 feet more than Ben Nevis and 1720 feet more than Snowdon. The parallel range which bounds the plateau of Mat on the east runs southwards from Mt Nezhdë in Lurë to Mt Dêjë and on to Mt Allaman at a height that is in few places below 5000 feet and is often above 6000 feet. The frontier range is still higher, composed as it is of Mt Çjalicë (8150 feet) and Mt Korab (9070 feet), the former in Lumë, the latter in Dibër. The topmost summits of the Martanesh area, Mt Kaptinë and Mt Lopë, are respectively 6145 and 6630 feet in height; the surrounding ranges average 5000 feet. As seen from Shkodër, the welter of

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

northern mountains begins modestly with ranges 2000–2600 feet above sea-level, surpasses 7000 feet in several peaks of Lower Shalë, and culminates in the Accursed Alps (*Bjeshkët ë Nemuna*), where the close-set summits of Radohinë (8690 feet), Jezercë (8790 feet), Rosh (8270 feet) and Kolatë (8370 feet) wall off Yugoslavia from Upper Shalë in spectacular fashion. East of Shalë, the monster Peak of the Irons (*Majë e Hekuravë*, 8530 feet) divides the tribe of Mertur from the open plateau of Krasniqë. The passes across the mountains are often lofty and arduous. To take an extreme example, the only way from Shalë to Bogë, its western neighbour, is by the Sheep Track Pass, to the northern frontier by the Pejë Pass, and to Nikaj on the east by the Ndermajnë Pass, which are respectively 5900, 5600 and again 5600 feet above sea-level and take a day to traverse. It is self-evident that the tribesmen of Shalë have never seen much of their neighbours. Elsewhere geographical conditions are less formidable, yet generally severe enough to limit intercourse between communities.

It is clear that agriculture and permanent habitations must stop far below the summits of many mountains, and that on the highest slopes there can be only summer grazing. Throughout the area as a whole, however, there is so much summer and winter grazing that many Albanians live entirely by pastoralism and many others combine it with their agriculture. In this connexion it is essential to remember the part played by the immense forests. These spread over the grim mountains as well as the plains, saving Albania from the desiccated look of Dalmatia and Greece, and making its scenery agreeable to the eye at all seasons. The forest trees are of many kinds, with a large proportion of evergreens. Since they grow at different levels according to their kinds, three zones, named the shrub, oak and beech, or pine zones after their predominating tree, have been distinguished.[1]

Shrubs grow all over the plains near the coast and up to a height of 600 feet in exposed regions like Shkodër and Durrës and 1600 feet in sheltered spots like the gullies on Mt Dajt. They include tree heather, hornbeam, arbutus, wild olives, broom and the terrible Christ's Thorn (*Spina Cristi*), which, withered or green, tears the flesh so savagely with its spikes that it is popularly said all over the Near East to have been used for the Crown of Thorns. There is rough winter grazing among the shrubs, especially for

[1] See Gashi, *Shqipnija*, pp. 51–60.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

from decaying beech leaves, these meadows make magnificent grazing in summer.

Where the underlying rock is serpentine, the forests in this zone are of pitch pine, not beech. Following the rock formation the pines may continue above the beech limit as on Mt Munellë in Mirditë, Mt Nezhdë, and the Peak of the Irons in Shalë. Or they may grow as low as the oak zone, adding to its amenities with their timber and pastures. In certain districts they cover whole mountain sides, while beeches fill the intervening, moister valleys; for beeches like a damp soil, and pines a dryish. Whether among the trees or in the clearings, these forests are a paradise for animals. They have other values, too. Their lower reaches are accessible enough for the peasants to cut their timber, load it on ponies, or slide it down the mountain side to their villages, there to be used for building or other simple purposes. Pine slivers are the only form of lighting in many village houses, and they also bring in a little money, finding a ready sale in towns as kindling for fires.

The pine and beech zone is mostly too high for winter use. Near the coast its tree-limit is 5200–5600 feet above sea-level. Farther inland, where one range shelters another and the soil is damper, it may be 6000 feet, as on Mt Bukanik in Shpat or Mts Munellë and Nezhdë. On Mt Gjalicë it is 7000 feet. Between the tree-limit and the summits of higher mountains there is nothing but rock, scree and treeless pastures.

This pine zone is as necessary to Albanian economy as the oak zone. On much of the treeless ground above it the grass is so coarse that sheep will not eat it at all, and horses nibble it only at the beginning of the summer season and then with distaste. The grass of the pine and beech zone is sweet and palatable even to dainty sheep throughout the summer. On the agricultural side the zone serves as a great catchment area, not only for the huge, unharnessed rivers that traverse north Albania, but also for the myriads of invaluable little streams that flow down to the agricultural districts in the oak zone. Without these streams there could be little irrigation; without irrigation there could be little agriculture. Maize must have water, and there is never enough rain in summer to supply it.

In the two areas of summer pasturage, the beech and pine zone and the treeless slopes above it, many thousands of cattle, horses, goats, and especially sheep, graze from May to October. Their

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

number is limited only by the amount of winter grazing available, which small owners find, and have always found, in the oak zone. In Turkish times, when Albania and Macedonia were both Turkish provinces and had no customs barriers between them as they have now, large owners sought it on the roomy plain of Salonica. Since Albanian emancipation in 1912 they have been confined to the more meagre pastures on the seaward side of the coastal plain at home, a restriction which has entailed a considerable cutting down of their flocks and herds. Nevertheless, in 1936–7 taxes were paid on 1,424,965 sheep, 773,969 goats, 144,763 cattle and 44,318 horses in the whole of Albania;[1] there are no separate figures for its northern half. Many more animals ran about the houses, unregistered and free of tax. For Albanians the importance of sheep lies, it should be noted, not only in their wool and meat as in England, but in their milk and the butter and cheese made from it.

If only the coastal plain were more spacious, it would be a perfect complement to the mountains for pastoralism on the grand scale. In the portion south of Lesh the rivers Drin, Mat and Ishm, entering the sea at points less than 6 miles apart, have created what is virtually one vast delta of mud and swamp, lush undergrowth, and trees that have come too quickly to maturity. Farther south, swamps of the same type cover much of the Plain of Durrës, and a great lagoon extends to the very outskirts of the town. Two more lagoons and a series of swamps mark the estuaries of the rivers Shkumbî and Seman on the coast of Myzeqe. More marshes and the lagoon of Kakarriq outline the course of the River Buenë in the north.

On the coast the average yearly rainfall is 39–47 inches, against 57 at Shkodër, 67 at Krujë and 72 at Pukë, an inland place 39 miles east of Shkodër. Albania is one of the wettest countries in Europe because so many of its ranges run from north to south and are high enough to intercept the rain-laden clouds that drift in from the west. The first rains fall in October when it is still hot on the coastal plain. The moisture and the heat combine to produce a luxuriant crop of new grass by the time that the sheep come down from the mountains.

This grass is found, not only in the hay meadows and swamps, but also, owing to the violence of the winter rains, on all the arable land

[1] Gashi, *Shqipnija*, p. 117.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER X

PASTURAGE

233 Mountainous northern Albania is largely a pastoral country with large flocks of sheep and goats and considerable numbers of plough-oxen, cows and horses.

To a great extent the nature of a village's pasturage depended on its position, whether it was in the shrub zone, the oak zone or higher up among the pine and beech forests of the alpine slopes. In the low-lying belt of shrublands the poorest type of grazing was found, and here the pastoral life was seen at its lowest level. A poor man might have only one to five sheep, a cow or, where foliage was more plentiful, a few goats. Most villages had little or no pasturage proper and the animals grazed on the verges of paths and fields, in small spinneys and in the waste spaces overgrown with shrubs. Each family would do its own herding, the animals being tended by the old people and by small boys and girls. For security against thieves and wolves the animals were brought home at night to the little farmyard with its low stone wall, or to a stable under the living rooms of the farmhouse. The low altitude of such holdings, where the climate was neither too hot in summer nor too inclement in winter, ensured fairly constant grazing all the year round. [246] During the winter, however, when the daylight hours were fewer, a meagre sheaf of maize and, less frequently, wheat straw or chaff, was fed by hand to each animal on its return from the open. When wheat chaff was fed to a horse it had to be well damped with water or the horse would not touch it. As for the goats, they would be given an armful of dried leaves which had been cut and stacked by the men in autumn and carried into the house by the women. No grain feed and no roots were fed to the animals; the former was needed for human consumption and no root crops are grown in Albania. Occasionally, however, when oats of a very poor quality were grown, the grain as well as the straw was fed to the animals. Albanians were astounded to learn that the British eat porridge. 'Food for animals' they would exclaim at the sight of a packet of porridge oats.

Poor and insignificant as they were, these small owners were

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

so numerous that their livestock amounted to a considerable percentage of the total in Albania. They were found mostly in the shrub areas, though a few very poor men lived also in the oak zone. But the vast majority of this leafy belt herded their flocks on a larger scale. Above each village there was always the overhanging mountain with its forests of beech and pine to hold the waters and keep the pastures green and sweet. Under the higher beech trees no grass grew, but in the sloping clearings the animals could graze at will. In winter, however, these clearings were too high to permit of habitation; besides, such tilling of the soil as did take place occurred at roughly the same level as the village, and it was there that the flocks found most of their feeding. In summer the fields and meadows, whether open or enclosed, provided hay for the animals; in the autumn the stubble served for a few weeks; while in winter they wandered over the grass. In spring the winter-sown wheat was improved by being eaten down a few inches by the sheep. Dried leaves from the numerous oak trees supplemented this winter feeding.

Sometimes the number of animals was such that all these sources did not suffice during the lean months, or sometimes a village had no suitable winter pastures or had lost them for political reasons. Many animals would then be slaughtered at the commencement of winter and the meat smoked or salted down, while the remainder lived to fare as best they could. The many owners who could not afford meat, fresh or salted, had to try to maintain their livestock until the spring. By that time the poor creatures were no better than living skeletons hardly able to walk out to the pastures.

On the long coastal plains and marshy river banks the owners of large flocks and herds were scorched out of their pastures in summer or plagued by the mosquitoes from the marshy swamps. This necessitated a wholesale migration at the beginning of summer to the cooler alpine slopes, a feature of Albanian life as characteristic as picturesque.

A few of the purely winter pastures belonged to the State, a few to private persons, and the immense majority to some community, either a tribe, a village or a village ward. State-owned pastures dated from Turkish times and were consequently found only on the plains near big centres, as Turkish control had little reality elsewhere. Examples of these were the forested swamps of Mamuras and the Highland village of Gurrëzë on the left bank of the river

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

Mat. They were extensive, if not numerous, and must be distinguished from the other state-owned pastures which, also in Turkish times, were added piecemeal to the community's possessions from the confiscated property of tribesmen who had transgressed an important law.

There were both alpine and winter pasturages in private hands in the 1930's, but the former were few and small; examples of these were some meadows on Mt Dragû between Bulqizë and Zerqan, and an upland plateau east of Sllovë in Dibër. The former, carrying 1500 sheep, was owned by Dervish Ali of Fulqet, and the latter, carrying not more than 1000 sheep, by Cen Elezi of Sllovë. Up till 1920, when Prenk Bib Doda Pasha bequeathed all his property to the tribe of Mirditë because he disliked his heir, the Mal i Shenjt (Holy Mountain) above Orosh was the private property of each Hereditary Captain. As for winter pasturages, much of the marshy land from Mamuras to below Durrës was in private hands. Thus the estate known as Cakalë belonged to Abas Kupi of Krujë, and several others near Shijak to members of the Toptan family. Some scandal was caused in the 1920's when three of these were leased for 99 years to Italians. A few meadows, some coppices and all the fields of stubble (for arable land was never owned by the community), complete the tale of winter pasturages which were private property.

Everything else, big and little, on the mountains and the plains, by the river bank and the wayside, belonged to some community. This was usually the nearest. For example, the plateau on the mountain overhanging Zerqan was owned by that village, the upland meadows round Okol in north Shalë by the various wards of Theth, one by each, and the swamps between Gurrëzë and Mamuras by the village of Laç near Milot. A major exception was the summer grazing which belonged to the village of Kuturman in Çermenikë. This pasturage lay twelve hours away on Mount Shebenik, more popularly known as the Mal i Kuq (the Red Mountain) on the eastern frontier between Albania and Yugoslavia. But its acquisition has been accidental. Most of it came as the dowry of a girl of Ricë who was her father's sole surviving heir and who married a man from Kuturman. The rest was subsequently purchased by the village; the copper plate on which its title to this portion was engraved in Turkish, a great curiosity in view of the rarity of title deeds, remained in the possession of Beqir Ali of

[The pastures of Mamuras and Gurrëzë -- Analyst]

PASTURAGE

Kuturman until his family died out and the place fell into ruin. The summer grazing which belonged to the village of Brezovec was on Fulqet was three days away on Mt Dhigit. The Dighisimbers, living at the mouth of the river Mat, had their summer pasturages on Mt Vermosh five days away from their winter homes.

A clear distinction was drawn between the two principles private and public pasturages. In broad outline what was privately could be fenced or sold or built on at the owner's sole discretion, and was divided up between his sons at his death. What was public was marked off by boundary stones from neighbouring properties but had neither outside fence nor internal boundaries. Though all the households in the tribe or village had equal rights in it and could each graze as many animals, cut as much firewood or timber, build as many huts or folds and shoot as much game on it as they pleased, these rights came to them only as members of the community and were not transferable to strangers. They could not sell their grazing rights to an outsider, share a hut with him or graze his animals along with their own. If they wanted to give an outside friend pasturage, they must do so on their private ground. They could not sell part of the common or dispose of firewood, timber or game for their individual gain; only the community could negotiate such sales, and all the profit or loss from them was community profit or loss. They could not build a permanent house on the common. When the head of a family died, his rights were not divided among his sons like his private property but descended to them jointly. Gypsies, it may be added, were allowed to pitch their tents, graze their animals and gather firewood on the common. Being as resourceful in Albania as elsewhere, they needed no permission and snared what game they could as long as they did not carry firearms they could not shoot it.

Those communities which did not possess their own private summer pasturage, hired or rented it from some one else. Berg Dhesi rented theirs partly from Shkrel and partly from Tuzi, and the latter was a full week's journey away. Moreover having come to Albania, they paid cash down. Fulqet rented a neighbour's mountain every summer and paid for it in the old fashioned way with half an oke of butter, the value of nine milk sheep, and an oke of sweet cheese for every forty sheep. Puke again have their winter pasturage in return for labour to maintain in the neighbourhood of Luré and Selinë. In Turkish times Luré added another month

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

233 437 427 [241] nor produce nor an exchange for summering the flocks brought to the Crown (Kunora) by tribesmen living north of Shkodër, but welcomed them because their sheep manured the fields. Comparatively recently, Lurë gave a Selitë man leave to summer his flocks gratis on Mt Murije, which, lacking their manure, would hardly have been worth the labour of tilling. Dervish Ali of Fulqet too was glad to let hundreds of sheep graze free in his meadows on Mt Dragû. Surroj and Arrn pastured sheep belonging to the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë without payment, because they also had so little arable land.

609 685 Except where the soil was so poor that the manure was welcome, as in Lurë, or where grazing was very plentiful, as in Theth, outsiders were rigidly excluded from alps which were owned or rented by a community. Nangë said it had not enough feed for its own flocks. Martenesh, Gurrëzë and Breg i Matit said they did not want their pastures disturbed by strangers. All infringements of the ban, both petty and grave, were punished by fines.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

[Laws enacted in the village of Kastrat on Nov. 2, 1891]

5. Whoever moves the stones of an old boundary and puts them in a new place will be fined 3000 grosh and 6 rams. [681] [423]

6. No one is to frighten a flock sheltering from the heat in a place it was in first.[1] Whoever does this will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams. [233]

7. The mill question remains inviolate as always and neither the Vukpalaj nor the Gjolaj may start a *degamë*,[2] and any miller who takes more than 5 per cent of the flour will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams. [256]

8. Any man who cuts down a tree under which animals take shelter from the heat or cuts off a mill or an irrigation stream will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams.

9. Other fountains and springs are left under the old law, that is to say, whoever destroys a fountain or spring or prevents another from filling water-pots will be fined 500 grosh. [312]

10. Milling is by order of arrival. Any miller who mills for a man who comes later than another and breaks the order either out of favouritism or because corrupted by bribes will be fined 150 grosh and 3 rams. [256]

11. Whoever admits a stranger to huts on a mountain pasturage will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams.[3]

IV. Truce Sworn between Nikaj and Mërtur on August 10th, 1892. [628] [619]

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 121.)

The two tribes have sworn a truce with each other:

(1) As from August 14th up to the day of Our Lady of Mertur.

(2) As from December 26th up to the day of St Sebastian.

The guarantors of Flock and Shepherd, i.e. Nikaj and Mertur and the Bajraktars of Krasniqë and Gash.

V. Laws Enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on November 1st, 1892 A.D. [681]

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 126.)

At a general meeting held under the presidency of Brahim Beg the serxherde, Kasem Beg the bylikbash and the four and twenty chiefs (elders) of Kastrat, the following laws were enacted.

1. Whoever murders a man of Kastrat or of any of the other mountains will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

[1] This must be a mistranslation. The Italian version of the sentence runs: *che nessuno ardisa impaurire il bastiame gravido.*

[2] The Italian version of this very obscure clause is as follows: *Le disporizioni riguardanti i mulini rimangono inaltarate per sempre e non possono causare litigi nè fra il povero nè fra il ricco*, clearly referring to the principle, enunciated again in § 10, which compels the miller to treat all his clients on the principle of 'first come, first served'. It is possible that the Albanian version has been misunderstood.

[3] This refers to the letting of some of the tribe's scanty pasturage to strangers.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Laws enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on Nov. 1, 1892]

681 2. Wounding a man means a fine of 1500 grosh and 12 rams.

[627] 3. Whoever fines another without doing it through a General Assembly and by common consent, will be fined 1000 grosh and 10 rams.

4. Whoever disputes with another or calls him names or aims his rifle at him in the following places—Breg i Shpellës, Viri, and Krue i Ri —will be fined 1000 grosh and 10 rams.

5. Whoever breaks down another's hedge in order to make a patch for himself must pay 150 grosh (3 rams) to the owner of the hedge.

6. Whoever murders anyone on the high road will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

7. Whoever robs another's house or sheepfold will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

8. Whoever dishonours a woman or an engaged girl will be fined 3000 grosh and 10 rams.

[692] 9. Whoever does not wish to engage elders and goes away saying 'May I never forgive you' will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

[233] 10. Whoever lets his animals graze on another's land will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

[423] 11. A man who will not hear of fencing in his portion of land, going halves in the fence with his neighbour, will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

12. A man who does not meet his obligations at the term fixed will be fined 23 grosh.

13. Whoever steals an ox, a cow or a horse in his own village will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

14. A man who does not respond to the village's call to come to a General Assembly or some other requirement of the village will be fined 250 grosh.

[487] 15. A man who closes a gap which has always been in the hedge will be fined 150 grosh.

16. The chiefs are to meet in General Assembly once a year, one [623] week after St John's Day. Whoever does not conform to this decision will be fined 500 grosh.

[693] 17. 'Pledge elders' are not to take more than 10 grosh as their fee for a judgement, and commoners not more than 5 grosh.

[628] 18. Whoever murders his adversary after their feud has been compounded by order of the government will be fined 12 purses and expelled from the village and turned into a ghost.

681 19. A dog which enters a vineyard with a wooden collar on its neck
231 may not be killed. A dog which enters a vineyard or field without a wooden collar may be killed.

20. Whoever brings a house-dog with him to church or to Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Solemn Pledge for Flock + Shepherd in Nikaj + Shalë, St. Prende's Day, 1894]

[681] [491] [594] solemnly pledged to safety for whoever goes to spend the night in Nikaj or Shalë. If any tribesman of Shalë who goes along this road is killed by a tribesman of Nikaj, the guest of all Shalë is killed, from dawn of day till the fall of night. If any tribesman of Nikaj who goes along this road is killed by a tribesman of Shalë, the guest of all Nikaj is killed, from the dawn of day till fall of night.

Between the same points the road is safe for Shosh and Mertur and is under the protection of Nikaj and Shalë. If a tribesman of Shosh kills a tribesman of Mertur he kills the guest of Shalë; if a tribesman of Mertur kills a tribesman of Shosh, he kills a guest of Nikaj.

[695] Whoever resorts to violence on this road must make an oath with twelve men taking the oath and twelve standing by.[1]

[233] 2. A flock and its shepherd are not to be killed by anyone; their safety is solemnly pledged and guaranteed. Any man who kills them must pay 20 purses or be killed and have his life equated to theirs.

3. If the pledge of safety is broken and a tribesman of one tribe kills during the period of pledge and guarantee and a tribesman of the other tribe does not so kill, twenty-four men of the tribe that had a man killed must take oath saying, 'You killed me when guaranteed'.

4. The whole road to Curraj up to the Krue i Ftofët (Cold Spring) is under a pledge of safety.

5. Mowers and reapers with scythe and sickle are under a pledge of safety in both summer and winter pasturages.

[313] Cutters of pine slivers and timber are under a perpetual pledge of safety.

[224] Shooters are under a pledge of safety from St Nicholas's Day in summer (May 9th) to St Nicholas's Day in winter (December 6th).

[812] A man irrigating during the night is under a pledge of safety.

6. A house with hearth and flour-bin and the keep of a house are not under a pledge of safety.

[231] Sheepfolds are under a pledge of safety.

7. If anyone goes out from the keep or the house in order to go to the sheepfold which is under a pledge of safety he must say, 'Look, man, we're going to the animals (or the fold), which are under a pledge of safety.'

[562] 8. As for women in Shkodër and Gjakovë:

If any of them wants herself to run away or to behave badly for the fun of it, good luck to her.

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: It was the custom in Dukagjin to make half, not all, of the jurors take an oath. If twenty-four jurors are ordered, twelve go and lay their hand on the Gospel and the other twelve stand listening with folded hands. In many mountain districts unless the principal person concerned excuses someone, it is the custom of all the jurors to go and lay their hand on the Gospel while repeating the words of the oath.)

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

To the Land of the Eagle

country, if I am rightly informed, two crops a year are possible, though whether the land would stand two crops without impoverishment I have not enough knowledge of such matters to say. There is room, too, for many more sheep and cattle than at present. If the gipsies can raise the large flocks they do, presumably the Albanian can raise them also. I saw gipsy encampments with flocks which appeared to run to a thousand head of sheep or more. As to cattle, the local breed is small; this is attributed by the natives to the poor pasturage, but the importation of pedigree stock might bring about an improvement. In fact, as I see it, there is wealth in Albania—the best kind of wealth, that which comes from honest work on the soil—and I cannot help wondering whether the Albanian who is yearning after the United States, Canada, or Australia, as the case may be, is not shutting his eyes to opportunities which lie ready to his hand in his own country. It is a truism that people are often blind to their own immediate surroundings.

The accommodation offered by the Hotel Metropole fell so far short of my fanciful anticipations that as soon as I had supped I made my way through the ill-lit streets to the American School, hoping that my friends Mr. and Mrs. Kennedy —whom I had met at Tirana—might be able to tell me of better quarters. They assured me, however, that the Hotel Metropole was the only place at which it was at all possible to stay, and very kindly offered to make me up a bed in their sitting-room. This offer—foolishly, as it turned out—I declined. I was back early the next morning begging that

ALBANIA EGI
BULGARIA EEI

A 342 343 When stables are not present, man and animals may live together in the same one-room house; occasionally a breast-high fence serves as a separation. Even in a one-room house there is a separate entrance for the animals. Occasionally stables are made of wood. I was unable to find more information on them, but it would appear that horses are more frequently kept in a stable on the ground floor than in a separate building. Sheds for storage are better made than the stables and rest on stone foundations to permit circulation of air (Nopcsa, 1925: 22). In northern Albania there are no separate houses for hay.

A 342 226 [824] Buildings Outside the Village. Cone-like huts (kačor) are used as temporary buildings by fishermen in the swampy regions of the coast. They are made of rough branches that interlock at the top. They are 2 meters in diameter and 2.5-3 meters high, covered with reeds which make them waterproof (Nopcsa, 1925: 8).

A 342 [84] In the plains near Scutari, one finds semi-subterranean buildings. A deep excavation, 8 by 3 by .30 meters is made; on the long sides a wall 40 centimeters high of dry masonry is built up and on the short sides a wall 2 meters high. The gabled roof is of straw, and earth is built up until it touches the eaves. Grass soon begins to grow over the roof and it is not easily recognizable. The door is on the gabled side, the fireplace opposite it. This structure is A [233] used by shepherds and their cattle in winter. Similar buildings are found in Wallachia (fig. 63) (Nopcsa, 1925: 9).

A 343 In the barren mountains of northern Albania one finds storage houses built against the slope of a hill. Only a side wall and a front wall are erected. Horizontal beams are laid over this, then wooden boards, and lastly earth. Here one also finds dairy huts made of masonry, rarely of wood, resembling the simple one-unit house. They are meant for summer use and are erected on the sunny slopes. Each one has an enclosure in which the sheep are kept at night. The enclosure is irregular in shape and the fence is of wicker or of stone.

BULGARIA

B 342 [127] Data on the Bulgarian farm houses have been derived mainly from the works of J. F. Gellert on Central Bulgaria (1937) and East Bulgaria (1934). Cvijić, in his work La Péninsule Balkanique, deals but briefly with Bulgaria, commenting that his Mixed type predominates and that one finds "une mélange extraordinaire de formes d'ancienne maisons" (Cvijić, 1918: 251).

B 131 Central Bulgaria is the region extending from the Ihtimanska Sredna Gora to the Tundža River in the east; the northern boundary includes the southern slopes of the Balkan Mountains, and in the south it terminates at the Rhodopes. It includes mountainous regions B [133] in the north and the lowlands of the Marica River. East Bulgaria